833 /173 cont./ The characteristics of being not good, if the not wanting emanates from the woman, are the same as when the man is the one who /174/ refuses sexual intercourse. The two women whom I was able to observe, however, lead me to suggest that the reason for their refusal is the idea that they regard themselves as too good for their husbands.

The Makassarese attitude with respect to these phenomena is different.

585 An informant named the "tete" as, in his opinion, one of the most important aspects of the wedding feast. Tete literally means "bridge." The bringing together of man and wife is regarded as a period of temporary uncertainty, and it is hoped that from this a state of lasting security will arise. Ritual is performed because it is believed that it promotes the coveted cessation of insecurity. There is always a positive [824] and a negative aspect present. This finds expression, among other things, in the names of leaves and wood types used in the ritual. Some of these have the meaning of "becoming larger," "increasing," while others mean "fending off" and "holding back."

833 We have already mentioned that the environment accepts a kawe kawe as he is. One does not have the idea that it is his fault that he is the way he is. Similarly, it is accepted of a man or woman that he (she) does not want to be "good" with his (her) marriage partner.

833 It is believed possible that the one who refuses sexual contact has been affected by a spell /sprenk/. But people can 789 never say with certainty who it was that spoke it at best; it is only possible to suspect people of it. One proceeds from an interest that this person is believed to have in seeing the marriage fail, and one combines this with conduct observed in him or her of which it is stated that it deviates from the customary and therefore might have a special (in this case, bad) significance.

833 /174 cont./ Such a person is kept isolated from attempts
789 which are applied to make the marriage a success nonetheless.
683 In view of the fact, however, that one can never be sure that a certain individual has not uttered a spell against the prospering of the marriage partners, one never hears of stronger reactions, such as the meting out of punishment.

833 Even though it is accepted of a man or woman that he
832 (she) does not want to have any sexual intercourse with his (her) spouse, one does not simply rest satisfied with this situation. After the actual wedding feast is /175/ over, one searches for ritual in order even yet to bring about the desired result.

In addition to many well-known and easily observable traits, the ritual generally has details which differ with every individual who performs it. These details need not be apparent. What makes the ritual a success in a certain case may be present precisely in the nonobservable details. It is never possible to know beforehand which detail it is that will bring success.

Different people accordingly test their powers in a case where the marriage partners are not good together. The ex-Imam of Borongloë was successful a number of times, after others had failed, when a few years after the marriage was concluded, he repeated the Moslem rite. This is called "marrying anew" (nikka' poleang). This ritual was unknown in a number of regions in South Celebes. Personal initiative in clearly observable ritual matters is to be found here.

585 The wedding festival consists of a multiple ritual of which the subordinate elements are performed over a period of time from 3 to 14 days and in a more or less fixed sequence.

Several actions that are forbidden in everyday life are here performed for the first time, surrounded as they are by ritual. As such we should mention the first touch of the woman by the man, the first meal together, being bathed together, and wearing a single sarong together. The older

585 /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen,
788 Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde,
[114] N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/
/New Series/, Vol. I,
no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 The person who performs this ritual is frequently the
[593] "bride's mother," (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[603 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven
824 different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but some-
[80] times variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 1. These names are rapidly
824 recited, one after the other,
● 789 when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 /178 cont./ "The medicinal plants bowagang palili, parempasa', and lowe are all able to defend against evil." Palili means: "cause to get out of the way" (Ibid., p. 223) Parempa' means: "to ward off" (Ibid., p. 1[illegible]2). Of "lowe," Matthes states that it is an old name for the "nagasari," a shrub that was also used for fences (Ibid., p. 373). The word buagang has the same meaning. When a kampong head, after a theft, turned to someone with the words, "If the thief is found in your house, you yourself will also be punished," the reaction was: "buagang," that is to say, "May that misfortune not overcome me."

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the meaning of "gay" and "sweet" respectively.

585 The water used for sprinkling comes from a pot. In the pot it has already undergone ritual treatment. At the bottom of the pot there lie some money, a number of betel leaves folded [824] in a special way (kalomping), and an appropriate number of pieces of areca nut. This water has been made pure (badji', literally, "good"). The burning /179/ incense vessel (padupaang) has been moved around it, puffed rice (bente) has been scattered over it, and a spell has been uttered during the ceremony. The object of the ritual is now sprinkled with this "good water" while a spell is uttered again.

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622 178]

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank. M 793 624 875 565 692

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 ● 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

●789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

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13. The power and prestige of the Datoe of Loewoe'.

We have never noticed any kind of policy of the Datoe toward the East Toradja. If the subjects (palili) simply fulfilled the above-named obligations, he did not bother further with their internal affairs. He calmly let the tribes wage war with one another. If the Toradja experienced molestation on the part of Mori or Sigi, they went to the court to complain about it, but real help was never granted. For example the Datoe never made an effort to rescue the East Toradja from the molestation that was done to them by the mountain tribes of the West Toradja. The Datoe, after listening to the complaint, handed them one or another miraculous remedy, through whose magic action the enemy would be driven back.

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The last time the Datoe helped his subjects in this way was in 1903. On the north shore of Lake Poso the Toradja had damaged and thrown into the water a memorial that had been erected there in memory of Chief Engineer R. Fennema, who had perished in the Lake in 1897. That is, the people believed that the continuous drought that scourged the country at the time was the result of the wrath of the spirits, because they (the Toradja) had admitted the Hollanders into the country. The administrative officer at Poso now asked for damages for the destruction of the memorial, but the people wanted to pay less than was asked. When the messengers of the administrative officer had returned to Poso, the Toradja thought that the soldiers would come and shoot them. They reinforced their villages and sent /127/ a few men to Loewoe' in order to inform the Datoe of the threatening danger and to ask him for help. The Datoe gave the envoys one bullet and a little bamboo container of gunpowder, enough for one shot, along with the message: "Fire this bullet with this powder at the Hollanders if they attack you, and they shall all flee from you." In the meantime, however, the request from the Government had been met, so that the bullet and powder were no longer necessary. The chief of Towale carried these objects afterwards as talisman.

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Because of this superstitious fear, it did not even occur to the people to oppose the wishes or the commands of the Datoe. It was told that whenever the Datoe came to punish rebellious tribes, his army was preceded by swarms of wasps which put the rebels out of action before there was an encounter. The Datoe had power over the success or failure of the harvest. Whenever people opposed him, the rice in the cooking pots would change to worms. This /128/ power over the crops that was ascribed to him was the reason that many Toradja continued to deliver their tribute to the Datoe after the Government had already prohibited this, because they thought that through their show of respect their fields would prosper. Whenever now and then there was resistance to Loewoe', this was not aimed at the Datoe, but at the Chief of one of the little realms that made up Loewoe'. There was ascribed to the Datoe another feared weapon with which he held his subjects in check. Namely, he could bring a contagious sickness over the land; he had nine of these sicknesses at his disposal. The Datoe was said to have inherited this power from one of his ancestors called La Dondorio. The tradition connected with this is too remarkable for it not to be reported.

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14. The story of La Dondorio and the To Ngojoe.

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La Dondorio went to seek supernatural power (mempepali asi-asi) on the other side of the ocean. At sea he met someone in a proa, who said to him: "La Dondorio, do not go to the inhabitants of yonder island; only women are there; if a man comes to them, they go at him in order to unite with him; they tear him from one another's arms so that he dies. They are the To Ngojoe, who are called this because they have the wind for a husband. When the wind sweeps over their dwelling place, they all go to sit with their faces in the direction from which the wind comes. If a man comes to them, then they cover (naowoeti) him, and the one with whom he mates becomes pregnant; but if the child is a boy, they sit upon him so that he dies. Therefore there are no men on the island."